

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 175095

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS - BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS - JULY 17 POLADS MEETING

REFS: A. STATE 174104; B. USNATO 7003; C. USNATO 7002;  
D. USNATO 7001; E. USNATO 5949; F. STATE 143453; G. LONDON  
5670; H. THE HAGUE 1954; I. BELGRADE 4943; J. USNATO 386  
K. STATE 30016

1. AS EARLIER INDICATED IN REFTEL F, WE FIND ISD/149  
GENERALLY SOUND AS A DOCUMENT WHICH THE ALLIES CAN USE  
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TO HELP THEM MAINTAIN A COORDINATED CBMS POSITION AT  
BELGRADE. WE HAVE ONLY A FEW COMMENTS CONCERNING THE COM-  
PILATION OF CHANGES TO ISD/149 WHICH WAS FORWARDED UNDER  
REFTEL B:

(A) PARA 34, SUBPARA (7). IF REFERENCE TO "THE MILITARY  
VIEW" IN THE PROPOSED CHANGE MEANS THE VIEW OF THE IMS,

THIS SHOULD BE SO STATED, WITH A REFERENCE TO THE RELEVANT IMS DOCUMENT. WE ARE CONTINUING OUR OWN ANALYSIS OF CPX NOTIFICATIONS.

(B) WE NOTE OMISSION OF AMENDMENT PROPOSED IN PARA 4 (P) OF REFTEL F AND WOULD AGAIN PROPOSE THIS CHANGE UNLESS OTHER ALLIES HAVE INFORMATION THAT YUGOSLAVS HAVE

DEFINITELY ABANDONED IDEA OF SEEKING SOME FORM OF INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGE BETWEEN MBFR AND CSCE.

(C) PARA 37. AS ORIGINALLY INDICATED IN PARAGRAPH 4(R) OF REFTEL G THIS PARAGRAPH ON WARSAW PACT ATTITUDES IS TOO SPECULATIVE TO BE STATED SO CATEGORICALLY. IN ADDITION TO INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE BRITISH AND DUTCH (REFTELS G AND H), COMMENTS OF VORONTSOV TO SHERER (PARA 7, REFTEL I) ABOUT POSSIBLE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO INTERPRET CBM PROVISIONS MORE EXTENSIVELY INDICATE SOVIET POSITION ON "STRENGTHENING" CBMS MAY NOT BE TOTALLY NEGATIVE.

2. THE IS THEMES ADDENDUM TO ISD/149 (REFTEL C) WILL BE A USEFUL CHECKLIST AT BELGRADE. FOLLOWING ARE OUR SPECIFIC COMMENTS:

(A) PARAGRAPH TWO, FIRST SENTENCE: "...IN A STRICT, CONFIDENTIAL

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IF NOT RESTRICTIVE MANNER" IS UNNECESSARILY CONFRONTATIONAL. WE WOULD SUGGEST "MORE NARROWLY".

(B) PARAGRAPH TWO, FIRST TICK: THIS STATEMENT IS NOT CORRECT. HUNGARY HAS NOTIFIED TWO SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS, ALTHOUGH ON SHORT NOTICE. SUBSTITUTING "GIVE SIGNIFICANT PRIOR NOTICE OF" FOR "NOTIFY" WOULD RESTORE ACCURACY.

(C) PARAGRAPH THREE PHRASE "...NEW INITIATIVES TO STRENGTHEN CBM IMPLEMENTATION WITHIN CONTEXT OF THE FINAL ACT" IS SOMEWHAT MISLEADING, I.E., CBMS MUST BE STRENGTHENED FOR IMPLEMENTATION TO BE IMPROVED, RATHER THAN THE CONTRARY AS THIS PHRASE SUGGESTS. FURTHER, "NEW INITIATIVES" IS REDUNDANT; WE WOULD SUGGEST AS A BETTER FORMULATION EITHER "FURTHER INITIATIVES AIMED AT STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE FINAL ACT" OR "INITIATIVES AIMED AT STRENGTHENING CBMS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE FINAL ACT."

(D) PARAGRAPH FOUR MIGHT BE EXPRESSED IN MORE POSITIVE FASHION TO DEMONSTRATE THE ALLIED COMMITMENT TO DISARMA-

MENT, BUT ALSO THEIR BELIEF THAT PRACTICAL RESULTS ARE BETTER ACHIEVABLE IN OTHER FORA. WE WOULD SUGGEST "THE ALLIES WISH TO REEMPHASIZE THEIR FULL COMMITMENT TO ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. THEY BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE EXTENT TO WHICH THESE MATTERS CAN BE MEANINGFULLY DISCUSSED AT BELGRADE IS LIMITED. THE ALLIES BELIEVE THAT PRACTICAL STEPS ARE BETTER ACHIEVED THROUGH SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS AND SUGGEST THEREFORE THAT THESE MATTERS WOULD BE BETTER HANDLED IN THE FORA ELSEWHERE

ESPECIALLY DESIGNED FOR THEM.

3. CONCERNING SUBSTANCE OF THE IS ILLUSTRATIVE CBMS RESOLUTION, (REFTEL D), WHOSE TACTICAL USE AT BELGRADE  
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WOULD BE A MATTER FOR LATER DECISION, WE HAVE THREE SPECIFIC COMMENTS:

(A) ON MOVEMENTS, MISSION SHOULD ALSO INDICATE THAT US RESERVES ITS POSITION PENDING COMPLETION OF ITS EXAMINATION OF PARAMETERS (FYI - HOPEFULLY BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK END FYI). (WE HAVE TWO SPECIFIC COMMENTS):

(B) LOWERING MAJOR MANEUVER THRESHOLD/STRENGTHENING SMALLER MANEUVER NOTIFICATION OBLIGATION. OBJECTIVE HERE IS TO STRENGTHEN OBLIGATION TO PRE-NOTIFY GROUND MANEUVERS INVOLVING FEWER THAN 25,000 TROOPS, ESPECIALLY THOSE INVOLVING MORE THAN 10,000 TROOPS, WHICH WAS THE THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MANEUVERS SOUGHT BY THE WEST IN CSCE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA. TO ACHIEVE THIS, WE PREFER APPROACH EMBODIED IN SECOND IS ALTERNATIVE, WHICH AVOIDS APPEARANCE OF LOWERING MAJOR MANEUVER THRESHOLD IMPLICIT IN THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE. IT INSTEAD GIVES DEFINITION TO THE CONCEPT OF A SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVER CONTAINED IN FINAL ACT AND STRENGTHENS THE OBLIGATION TO REPORT SUCH MANEUVERS. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE PHRASE "ARE GENERALLY PREPARED TO NOTIFY" IS UNNECESSARILY AMBIGUOUS AND SHOULD BE REPLACED BY THE STRAIGHT-FORWARD UNDERTAKING, "WILL NOTIFY". ("ARE PREPARED TO NOTIFY" MIGHT BE KEPT IN MIND AS POSSIBLE FALLBACK POSITION AT BELGRADE.) IF NECESSARY TO ACCOMMODATE THE CONCERN OF SOME ALLIES THAT ESTABLISHING AN EXPLICIT NUMERICAL RANGE (I.E., 10,000-25,000) FOR SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS WOULD ESTABLISH A PRESUMPTION AGAINST VOLUNTARY NOTIFICATION OF STILL SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS, WE COULD ADD THE PHRASE "IN THE FIRST INSTANCE", AS SUGGESTED EARLIER BY THE DUTCH (REFTEL J). WE ALSO BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO  
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COMPLETE DEFINITION OF SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS BY STATING THAT THEY CORRESPOND IN OTHER RESPECTS TO MAJOR MANEUVERS. FINALLY, THE LAST PHRASE IN THE IS FORMULATION, WHILE PRESUMABLY INCLUDED TO HELP GROUND THE FORMULATION IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT PROVISION ON SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS, WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH (AND NARROWER THAN) REQUIREMENT THAT NOTIFICATION BE PROVIDED "IN THE SAME MANNER AS MAJOR MANEUVERS," WHICH WOULD PRESUMABLY MEAN NOTIFYING ALL OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES. WE WOULD THEREFORE PROPOSE REFORMULATION OF SECOND IS ALTERNATIVE AS FOLLOWS:

"WILL NOTIFY, IN THE SAME MANNER AS MAJOR MANEUVERS, SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS INVOLVING FEWER THAN 25,000 TROOPS AND (IN THE FIRST INSTANCE,) MORE THAN 10,000 TROOPS, AND CORRESPONDING IN OTHER RESPECTS TO THE PARAMETERS CONTAINED IN THE PROVISION ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS."

(C) INFORMATION CONTENT OF NOTIFICATIONS. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE SPECIFIC OBLIGATION TO INCLUDE IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR UNITS, AT THE REGIMENTAL LEVEL AND ABOVE, WHICH AS WE HAVE EARLIER STATED WOULD IMPROVE OUR ABILITY TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS AND TO JUDGE WHETHER THE SCOPE OF MILITARY ACTIVITY IS CONSISTENT WITH THAT LEGITIMATELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE ANNOUNCED MANEUVER (REFTEL K PARA 8 B). WE BELIEVE THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE MORE TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING THAN OTHER ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS OF INFORMATION MENTIONED IN IS FORMULATION AND COULD BE MORE DIRECTLY RELATED TO LANGUAGE OF FINAL ACT. WE WOULD THEREFORE PROPOSE AMENDING IS FORMULATION AS FOLLOWS:

"WILL, IN PROVIDING IN THEIR NOTIFICATIONS ADDITIONAL RELEVANT INFORMATION RELATED TO THE COMPONENTS OF THE FORCES ENGAGED IN MANEUVERS AND THE PERIOD OF INVOLVEMENT  
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OF THESE FORCES, IDENTIFY THE MAJOR UNITS ENGAGED AT THE REGIMENTAL LEVEL AND ABOVE; ARE PREPARED ALSO TO INCLUDE IN NOTIFICATIONS ADDITIONAL RELEVANT INFORMATION, SUCH AS THE QUANTITIES OF MAJOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT (E.G., TANKS, HEAVY ARTILLERY, MISSILE LAUNCHERS, SHIPS, BOATS, AIRCRAFT) INVOLVED AND INFORMATION ON PREVIOUS OR SUBSEQUENT MANEUVERS IN THE AREA OF THE NOTIFIED

MANEUVERS OR IN AREAS ADJACENT THERETO.

4. WE ARE PROVIDING COMMENTS ON THE SWEDISH DRAFT  
CBMS RESOLUTION (REFTEL E) IN SEPTTEL.

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## Message Attributes

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